

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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SUBJECT Discussion of Tito-Moscow Break

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Possible Reasons for the Tito-Moscow Break

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1. The first impression [] of the recent actions instituted by Moscow against the regime in Belgrade, is that they are definitely too vehement. The actions are too overdone, too loud, as if, once again in the struggle for the Balkans, the situation is getting out of hand.
2. The purpose of the notes lately dispatched from Moscow, couched as they are in uncommon and unprecedented terms of abuse and epithet, is to dispel any doubt that the break between Tito and the Cominform is real and authentic. It was not necessary to tell the Yugoslav people and Tito again and again that the break is final and irrevocable. Tito has been expelled from the Cominform without reservation, and his nation needs no reminding of this action. But the Moscow notes were published in toto in the Soviet press, and much space was given to reactions abroad. The notes themselves have been sufficiently repetitive and comprehensive so that nobody could conceivably miss the point.
3. It is therefore clear that the Yugoslav Government, although the formal recipient of the notes, was not the actual addressee. There are of course several possible parties the Kremlin is trying to convince, and the door is open to all kinds of speculation. Preposterous as it may sound, it is possible that the West is the party to be convinced, that in actuality the breach between Tito and Moscow is completely phony. To be sure, there is nothing to substantiate this possibility and, even if Moscow aims include world domination, it is hard to see any value in the present break with Tito. This possibility is to be noted only.
4. Another possible reason for raising so much fuss about Tito right now could be the necessity for a crisis important enough to divert the world's attention from actions or preparations for actions in other regions.
5. [] the most logical explanation for the notes, for the Rajk trial, and for the movements of armored divisions on the Yugoslav northern border, lies elsewhere. Most logically and probably the break between Tito and Moscow is authentic, and the tone of the notes was set to warn other potential deviationists. Tito and the men around him who most prominently figure in the dispute are, from the Communist point of view, men of considerable standing with clean Communist records, men who have unerringly followed the official Party line without ever questioning it.

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These men remained loyal to the Party in times when many members bolted, during the Trotsky exodus, the purges, the Ribbentrop-Kolotov Pact. Some of them, such as Kardelj and Pijade, have contributed to Party theory. Above all, their record during World War II provided at that time the classic example of a liberation war as conceived by Lenin, and was presented as proving Lenin's teachings to be true. In short, none of them has ever before been tainted. They were the shining show pieces of the Party, always inside the fold and belonging truly to the Marxist-Leninist group. Even after the Cominform took action against Tito, this situation did not change much as far as the rank and file members of the Party were concerned. To the rank and file, the whole affair must have appeared as a sort of internal fraternity kind of thing, happening within the confines of the group. The kid brother, the fine fellow, had erred. But look with what pluck he stands up to the big wheels, and how clever and interesting is his defense of his position! In the meantime the men who had been brought into power in the satellites found themselves confronted with an unforeseen problem -- a considerable lack of restraint on the part of their Soviet liberators in requiring material advantages and services. The position of these men was difficult enough in itself without having to gear their whole industry to comply with the demands of their liberators. They found themselves forced into all sorts of agreements and ending up with unbelievably inadequate returns for their goods, if any at all. Now to these men, as well as to those of their subordinates charged with rounding up what the liberators wanted, Tito's position was more than alluring. Both the leaders and the rank and file Communists got more and more infected with Titoism, which was spreading too much for the liking of the policy directors in Moscow. It had to be wiped out. This accounts for the notes, for it had to be made clear that the breach had ceased to be an internal affair and had become a mortal sin unreconcilable with the Party conscience. The notes are addressed to the small men, since the big ones are already being dealt with. "If you accept Titoism", the notes are saying, "you are a heretic and a traitor and you don't deserve to belong to the Party."

The Significance of the Rajk Trial

6. However, the men directing the policy against Tito must have felt that the only ones who can really expell Tito and his men from the Party are Tito and his men themselves, by committing such actions as to put them automatically outside the Party. The Rajk trial has to provide for such, but just how much credence the Party members will give it is a matter of surmise. One might add at this point that the Rajk trial is to be succeeded by similar trials in other people's democracies, and finally a nice big trial in Moscow, since beneath it all there must be a bigger issue than Tito - the issue of who is to gain power inside the Party.

The Significance of Western Aid to Tito

7. Up until now, Tito, although pressed toward it by economic measures and by the notes which were intended to make him answer rashly, has avoided compromising himself either by direct action or by statements. He has not made any move toward the West which would damage him too much, but he might do so shortly. It is doubtless very important to help him stay in power as long as it is in the interests of freedom. The mere fact that he remains so opposed to the determined will of Moscow is a great victory in itself. But the paramount achievement would be if he could be helped in such fashion as not to impair his position as the rallying point for the dissatisfied in the Party, his standing as a man who has not deviated from the true Marxist-Leninist line, or his reputation as a staunch enemy of the imperialist West.
8. It has to be expected that the Rajk trial will do considerable damage to Tito's prestige, but [] the US loans, if not handled carefully, 50X1-HUM come more damaging than the trial. There are two dangers: the clauses regulating the spending of the loans, and the loan agreements themselves.
9. As for the spending controls, the danger lies in making them too tight. Moscow will of course attack the loan stipulations anyway, but if the specific controls appear to lend weight to the Moscow thesis that all aid from the US to Europe is calculated to ease overproduction and imminent economic catastrophe in the US, the main purpose of the loans will have been wrecked.

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